Kazakhs in one horde under one political government had not been realized since the 15th century, except for a brief adventure in unification by Khan Tiavka at the end of the 17th century. 668

The term Alash recalls even more ancient days, for it refers to the mythical founder of all Kazakhdom, the ancestor of all Kazakhs, Alash, or Alach. The figure of Alash is not a fiction; he lived in the era of the emperor Tamerlane, near the end of the 14th century. According to the tale recorded in the 19th century of the origin of the Kazakh people, the descendants of Alash divided into three hordes, which in turn formed the basis for the social organization which existed on the eve of the Russian conquest.[1] "Alash" became first a Kazakh battle cry, evoking the name of their glorious ancestry, and finally the name of their first political party. [973] [926]

During the 1920's those leaders of the Alash-Orda who were not purged were gradually absorbed into the Soviet Party and civil life; some of them, Tynyshpaev, Baitursunov, and Bukeikhanov, became active journalists and scholars under the Soviets. They continued to "glorify" the Kazakh past, and were roundly denounced for this by Soviet propagandists. The issue which aroused Soviet disapproval was their representation of the Kazakh community as a sort of idyllic, primitive communism, in which each man helped his neighbor, rich and poor sharing alike. This doctrine was inacceptable to the Soviets of the 1930's, for the line had now become that the Kazakh village was torn with class strife between exploiter and exploited. In the course of this controversy, the old Alash-Orda leaders were purged and liquidated, in a severe struggle which was still going on as late as 1934.[2] C48 668 [904]

There were companion movements to the Alash-Ordists of Kazakhstan among other people of Central Asia. At the time of the Russian Revolution the political development among the Turks of southern Turkestan and the Caucasus bore the name of Basmachi, while that among the Turks of the southern Urals was known as the Bashkurd (the Bashkir name for themselves); among the Tartars of the Volga region the movement was called the Idil-Ural (Idil or Itil or Idel is an old Turkic name for the Volga River), and a similar movement in Uzbekistan and neighboring areas was known as the Djadid. Some of these movements were markedly and avowedly oriented toward foreign sources.

The Basmachi, for example, geographically close to Turkey, had a strong pro-Turkish orientation, or rather, it endorsed Pan-Turanianism more strongly than the other movements, and this brought it closer to the Turks of Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement advocates the political unification of all Turks under one state and government, which would stretch from China to European Turkey and the Balkans; it involves open propaganda for separation of Turkestan from Russia. This doctrine is therefore a sensitive subject in Moscow, and the cause of some tension. It was and is a far more dangerous threat than was the Alash-Orda; the strongest Soviet denunciation of the Alash-Ordists is that they were connected with Pan-Turanianism through the Basmachi. Actually, there

[1] Valikhanov, 1904, pp. 299-300.
[2] For a summary, see Tagabaev, 1934, passim.

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Table 13

NUMBER AND CIRCULATION OF NEWSPAPERS IN KAZAKHSTAN

Year	Number	Total Circulation
1937[a]	345	ND
1940 (Jan)[b]	220	940,000
1947[c]	266	ND
1949 (Feb)	238[b]	758,000[d]
1951 (Nov)[d]	246	865,000
1952 (Sep)[e]	257	882,000

[a] *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c] *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e] *Ibid.*, 21 Sep 52.
ND: No data available.

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estimate).[1] The estimated population of the KSSR in 1952 was 7,000,000 and the total newspaper circulation 882,000; hence for every 1,000 persons there were 126 newspaper copies. The corresponding figure for the USSR in the late 1940's was 118 copies per 1,000 individuals (based on a total circulation of 23,600,000, and an estimated population of 200,000,000). On the basis of this crude comparison, it would appear that access to newspapers is at least as great in the KSSR as it is in the Soviet Union as a whole.[2] Unfortunately, no pertinent data were found on newspaper circulation in the USSR according to language of publication. However, information on numbers of papers at given times permits the compilation of Table 14, showing the proportion of Kazakh-language papers in the republic.

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The proportion of the Kazakh language papers has remained remarkably stable, if the available figures can be taken at face value. Since the 1939 census the number of Kazakh papers seems to have remained at slightly more than one-half of the total; it is conceivable that this proportion has been dictated from above, to strengthen the pretense that the KSSR is entitled to the name Kazakh, for the Kazakhs certainly form less than one-half of the republic's population.

It is very probable that the combined daily circulation of the Russian-language newspapers is greater than that of the Kazakh-language press.[3]

[1] *Pravda*, 5 May 49, reported 7,200 newspapers for the USSR. The total of 257 newspapers in the KSSR (Table 13) was divided into a rounded population figure of 7,000,000 inhabitants.

[2] Including the circulation of the all-Union press, the USSR ratio would be 155 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. The comparable figures for the United States (English-language dailies only) as of September 1952: circulation 54 million, population 160 million, or 337 copies per 1,000 inhabitants. These ratios come closer together when only the population aged 15 and older is considered: USSR 340, United States 470 per 1,000 inhabitants.

[3] The above figures first appeared (for the year 1947) in *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh*, 1948. Older information corroborates the hypothesis that Russian-language papers have a much higher average circulation than the Kazakh ones. For example, *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo Kazakhskoi ASSR*, p. 305, lists as of 1 Jan 35 a total of 163 newspapers with a circulation of 351,000. The Russian papers (35) had a mean circulation of 9,670, whereas the 84 Kazakh-language papers had an average circulation of exactly *half* that number. (There were 24 papers of unspecified languages with an average circulation of 610 each.)

St:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2
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Table 14

PROPORTION OF KAZAKH-LANGUAGE PAPERS

Year	Total Number of Papers	Kazakh-Language Papers	Kazakh-Language Proportion of Total (%)
1937[a]	345	163	47
1940[b]	220	126	57
1947[c]	266	139	52
1952[d]	257	135[e]	53

[a] *Sotsialisticheskoe Stroitel'stvo.*
[b] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 26 Feb 49.
[c] *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[d] *Kazakhstanskaia Pravda*, 16 Dec 51.
[e] An estimate based on a language distribution in the *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, for district-level papers. Of 213 such papers, 117 were Kazakh, 91 Russian, 3 Uigur, and 2 Uzbek. It was assumed that each of the 16 regions publishes a Kazakh paper as well as a Russian, and that there is at least one city-level and one republic Kazakh-language paper.

Whereas quantitative information on the circulation of Kazakh-language papers is conveniently omitted from the 1952 edition of the standard Soviet encyclopedia (Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia), the same source cites as an achievement the figures for the largest Kazakh monthlies: Pioneer, 10,000; Kommunist, 7,000; and The People's Teacher (Narodnyi uchitel'), 5,000. All of these periodicals as well as 90 per cent of all books produced in the Kazakh Republic are printed in Alma-Ata.

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In 1937, according to a specialized Soviet source, more than 85 per cent of the books published in Kazakhstan were printed in the capital, Alma-Ata.[1] In that year 5,300,000 volumes were published in the republic, of which almost 90 per cent were written in the Kazakh language;[2] most of the non-Kazakh books were in Russian. The 4,700,000 volumes in the Kazakh language included 252 titles,[3] which represents a mean edition figure of 18,600, surprisingly high for a minority language. By subject matter, most KSSR books fell into one of these four categories:[4] (1) belles-lettres (26%), (2) politics, law, and "socialist construction" (18%), (3) mathematics and physical sciences (14%), and (4) linguistics and philology (12%).

The war had a devastating effect on the book publishing trade in the Soviet Union. The total number of volumes published was 20 per cent smaller in 1947 than in 1937 (see Table 15). Within the Kazakh republic, however, the number of volumes published actually increased by 20 per cent during that period. Accompanying this increase in production was a significant change in the ratio of native- to nonnative-language publications (see Table 16). The number of books published in the Kazakh language was cut almost in half, while the number of publications in

[1] *Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[2] *Sovetskaia pechat' v tsifrakh.*
[3] *Pechat' SSSR v 1937 godu*, 1938.
[4] *Ibid.*